1:Redfield E-5 (1926-1927)1930
NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

ent. "A good wife lives contentedly with her mother-in-law."[1]

The ceremonial accompanying marriage has, in general, a simple Catholic form. Most of the features of the old Aztec customs,[2] such as the consultation of diviners in selecting the bride, the formal exhortation of the bride and bridegroom, the tying together of the clothing of the boy and girl as the sanctifying act, have been displaced by Christian-church ritual. But certain elements remain. The formal presentation of the request for the girl's hand, which must be repeated before formally accepted, was a part of the old Indian custom. The godfather has taken the place of the professional *cihuatlanque*. Minor elements of this custom, such as the bringing of gifts of fruit and food, are likewise survivals.[3]

When the boy has found a girl he wants to marry, he tells his parents. His father and his mother and his godfather and his godmother all go together to the house of the girl to ask her consent. They are received by the girl and her parents. She is not expected to give her answer then. The representatives of the boy ask the girl and her family to think it over, and they come back in a week. They usually go on Sunday. They may come back more than once. If she says "No," the matter is ended. If she says "Yes," then just a week after her consent is obtained the boy's parents and godparents come to her house and put flowers and candles in front of the *santo* in her house. They do

[1] When it was suggested to one informant that the couple might live with the wife's parents, he laughed and said, "Oh, no, there he couldn't even cry out." But a few newly married couples do live in that way.

[2] See, e.g., Clavijero, *Historia antigua de Mexico*, p. 326.

[3] In some villages the old customs are very largely preserved. See, e.g., J. Paredes Colin, art., "Marriage Customs of San Juan Miautitlan" (Puebla).

2:Lewis E-5 (1943-1948)1951 NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

terests of a small clique within that village. The schisms created by this cooperative within the village and the municipio will be treated later in this study.

These facts indicate the strong individualism of the villagers, and the interesting way in which new contacts with the outside and production for the market have disrupted the earlier stability of the municipio. As long as production of charcoal was primarily for household use, there seemed to be no conflict between collective ownership and individual exploitation of the resources. As a matter of fact, the communal lands have been one of the few unifying factors in the life of the municipio and have brought the villagers together to defend their lands in the face of threats from the outside. However, with commercial exploitation of the limited communal resources, competition became intense, and the concept of communal land ownership by the municipio was attacked.

PRIVATE HOLDINGS

As we have indicated earlier, private landholdings include most of the lands for plow agriculture; that is, most of the level lands. The only other privately owned lands are the house sites in the village, most of which include some ground for a garden and for some corn plantings. The history of private landholdings is not very clear. Certainly we know that private holdings have existed at least since the time of the Conquest. Whether or not it existed in Tepoztlán before the Conquest cannot be determined, but, judging from the data for other parts of Mexico, it is probable that private holdings coexisted with other holdings. Much of the land that is now privately owned, approximately one hundred hectares of the most productive lands of the municipio, once belonged to the church. This land was divided into private holdings after the Revolution of 1857. Most of the landowners now have some document to prove title; but there are still many individuals who work plots of land which have been passed down from family to family without any written proof of ownership.

The ownership of land is one of the basic aspirations of Tepoztecan peasants, and land-ownership is perhaps their most important single criterion of wealth. The value put on land-ownership is reflected, in part, by the fact that farmers, artisans, and merchants invest in land whenever they have the necessary capital and the opportunity. But there is no concentration of land-ownership in the hands of a few. There are several reasons for this. Few people in Tepoztlán will sell tillable land, and when they do they prefer to sell to close relatives. On the whole there is little land turnover. Tepoztecans with sufficient capital to purchase large quantities of land do not do so, because they seek more profitable kinds of investments, generally in cattle. The high cost of labor and the low and uneven yields in plow agriculture make corn production for commercial purposes unprofitable.

DISTRIBUTION OF PRIVATE HOLDINGS

According to our findings, only 36 per cent or 311 of the 853 families in the village own private land. Thus, in a village where the family ideal is to own a plot

2:Lewis E-5 (1943-1948) 1951 NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

of land, we find that 64 per cent of the families own no private land. The distribution of privately owned land is shown in Table 20.

TABLE 20. Distribution of Privately Owned Land by Family Units and House Sites, 1944.

Barrio	House Sites	Family Units	Families Owning Land		Families With Two Members Owning Land	Families With Three Members Owning Land	Families Not Owning Land	Families Not Owning Land Who Live With Landowners
			No.	Per Cent				
San Miguel	163	214	83	38.3	12	1	131	21
La Santísima	139	185	62	33.5	6	..	123	17
Santo Domingo	174	223	61	27.4	..	..	162	21
Santa Cruz (large)	67	82	44	53.6	5	..	38	10
Los Reyes	37	49	30	61.2	1	..	19	3
San Sebastián	34	42	11	26.2	1	..	31	3
Santa Cruz (small)	29	36	10	26.1	..	..	26	3
San Pedro	19	22	10	41.4	..	..	12	3
Tepoztlán	662	853	311	36.4	25	1	542	81

On the whole, the smaller barrios have a larger proportion of landowners. The outstanding exception is San Sebastián, by far the poorest barrio in the village. It should be noted that Los Reyes, one of the smaller barrios, has an extremely high percentage of landowners and is known as one of the richer barrios. On the other hand, Santa Cruz (large), which shows a high percentage of landowners, is known as one of the poorer barrios. Similarly, the large barrios which here show a low percentage of landowners have some of the wealthiest families in the village. In other words, the distribution of land-ownership is not in itself an accurate index of barrio wealth. Our data, however, do show that the largest number of landless families are in the center barrios.

The small number of families in which two or more members own land points to the lack of concentration of land-ownership along family lines, and also reflects the inheritance pattern of not dividing the property until the father's death. The fact that 81 families without land live on the same house site with families who own land tends to modify to some degree the picture of landlessness, for most of these 81 families are married sons living with their fathers and working for them.

SIZE OF PRIVATE HOLDINGS

The striking thing about landholdings is their extremely small size. This can be seen from Table 21,[5] which shows that 90.6 per cent of all private holdings are less

[5] Private holdings here refer to what Tepoztecans call *propiedad rústica* which is outside of the village, as over against *propiedad urbana* which is located within the village. The latter refers to house sites, some of which have small areas devoted to corn.

2:Lewis E-5 (1943-1948) 1951 NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

merable and not unlike many reported in other studies of rural Mexican communities. Omens are seen in the cry of the opossum, the entry of a bat into the house, the howling of a dog at midnight, the rainbow, the death of a snake within the house, the songs of certain birds, an egg laid without a shell, an egg with a double yolk, and many more such phenomena. When an evil omen appears in a home, the entire family feels threatened, not knowing upon whom misfortune will fall, and for a time everyone takes extra precautions against accident. Sometimes a favorite saint is appealed to or a powerful *curandero* is sought out, but more often the family does nothing, and the sense of apprehension soon wears off.

Evil supernatural forces can be made to act or can be counteracted by sorcerers and witches who receive their power from the devil. Witches are thought to be most active on Tuesdays and Fridays, and some people take extra precautions to hide soiled clothing or not to accept gifts of food on those days. Several old women, particularly those who know a great deal of herbal lore, are thought to be witches. Aggressive or bold women may also be suspected, particularly women who are able to dominate their husbands. Such women are often thought to have bewitched their husbands with *toloache*, a local herb. It is interesting to note that some of the young girls who have studied outside the village, and who live by urban standards, are also suspected of being witches by a large portion of the population. One such girl married a boy in the barrio of Los Reyes and was accused of being a witch by her mother-in-law on the ground that she refused to behave like a good daughter-in-law and continued to see her former school friends.

Sorcery is used in courtship by unsuccessful suitors. The leg of a beetle is introduced into a drink to arouse the passions of an indifferent girl, or a powder made from skulls may be thrown on the palm of a woman's right hand or on her head, or into her food or drink. Foods which spoil too quickly are often believed to contain some powder meant for sorcery. A young Tepoztecan schoolteacher who received a gift of apples from a pupil was very much alarmed when she noted that the fruit rotted the very next day, and she suspected the child's family of trying to bewitch her. The most feared type of sorcery is that in which an image of the victim is fashioned out of his soiled clothing and pierced with a pin in the region of the heart or head to bring about his illness or death. To be doubly certain of success, the doll may be thrown into an anthill, so that *los aires* will also attack him.

Almost any unusual illness, but particularly swelling of the head or joints, may be attributed to sorcery by the local *curanderos*. A bewitched person usually leaves the village in the belief that he is no longer safe there and can be cured only away from the sorcerer. In such cases, Tepoztecans generally consult *curanderos* of wide repute in Yautepec or other towns and may spend several hundred pesos to undergo a cure. However, mild symptoms of sorcery or illness due to supernatural elements may be treated within the village by use of prayer, holy water, local herbs, ritual "cleansing," and by consulting certain local healers who go into a trance and converse with spirits to get a diagnosis and prescribe a cure.[11]

[11] This may be an element of African culture introduced into Tepoztlán by Negro slaves.

2:Lewis E-5 (1943-1948)1951 NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

birth, but rather greater application to the task of earning money after its arrival. The lack of foresight forces individuals into many distasteful borrowing situations and creates indebtedness among a people who abhor it.

There is comparatively little anxiety or sense of frustration in connection with personal success or self-development. What anxiety there is, stems from fear of a hostile environment and from the poor quality of inter-personal relations. Exceptions to this are found primarily among the more educated and acculturated group, particularly among the youth who have been to school outside of the village. It is among these individuals that we find greater dissatisfaction, ambition, desire for self-development, and fear of personal failure. These are also the people who show signs of maladjustment in the village.

Of special interest, for the understanding of the relative absence of frustration or anxiety, is the tendency to shift personal responsibility to others or to impersonal forces and to explain non-conformity in terms of magical or other supernatural forces, which are believed to control the individual. The illness or death of a child may thus be attributed by the mother to the "evil eye" or to *espanto*, rather than to her own negligence. Illness of a child after weaning will be attributed to jealousy rather than to the brusque change in diet or poor maternal care. A young girl who breaks all the rules and goes after a boy may be said to have been bewitched. A man who is dominated by his wife is said to have been drugged.

This shifting of responsibility is also expressed in other situations. In the short formal speech made by the parents to their future son-in-law, they remind him that the decision to marry their daughter is his own, and that he must not blame them if she turns out bad. Parents sometimes express a certain amount of relief when a son or daughter leaves home to work or to marry, for they no longer feel responsibility for his or her behavior. It is also not uncommon for parents to comfort themselves with the same thought at the death of a child.

Other traits, such as fatalism, stoicism in the face of misfortune, passivity, acceptance of things as they are, and a general readiness to expect the worst, tend to lift from the individual the burden of personal responsibility for his fate, and perhaps help to explain the relative absence of guilt or self-blame. Even in the face of gross injustice, in which the individual is protected by law, there may be little or no self-defense.

For example, a man who has been cheated out of a piece of property by a wealthier or more educated person may put up little fight on the ground that he will surely lose against the greater power of the other. A widow whose daughter was raped by a wealthy man did not press charges because, she said, "There is no justice for the poor and defenseless."

This attitude is even more striking in regard to injustices against society as a whole or against village interests. Stealing public funds, misleading or mishandling citizens by officials, or immoral behavior on the part of a person in power usually go unpunished and often uncriticized in public, although there may be much private resentment. The absence of strong public opinion, which generally controls

2:Lewis E-5 (1943-1948) 1951 NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

inter-personal relations within the family: 14

HUSBANDS AND WIVES

According to the ideal culture patterns for husband-wife relations in Tepoztlán, the husband is an authoritarian, patriarchal figure who is head and master of the household and enjoys the highest status in the family. His prerogatives are to receive the obedience and respect of his wife and children, as well as their services. It is the husband who makes all important decisions and plans for the entire family. He is responsible for the support of the family and for the behavior of each member. The wife is expected to be submissive, faithful, devoted, and respectful toward her husband. She should seek his advice and obtain his permission before undertaking any but the most minor activities. A wife should be industrious and frugal and should manage to save money no matter how small her husband's income. A good wife is not critical, curious, or jealous of her husband's activities outside the home.

The ideal patterns for the expected roles of husbands and wives are, in large measure, a social fiction. Although in most homes there is an outward compliance to the ideal pattern, with the wife apparently submissive and serving, there are actually few homes in which the husband is the dominant figure he seeks to be, or in which he truly controls his family. Most marriages show some conflict over the question of authority and the respective roles of the spouses. The most placid marriages are those which take a middle course, in which the wife does little to challenge the authority of the husband and in which the husband is not too overbearing toward his wife. On the other hand, conflict is most acute in those families in which the woman is openly aggressive and actively attempts to dominate the husband, or in which the husband is so insecure that he becomes an over-violent and fear-inspiring figure.

Women's standards of behavior for their husbands and for themselves are influenced by their own needs and experiences and are not always consistent with the ideal roles. Older women tend to conform to the culturally set standards of female behavior more than younger women, but to a large extent women of all ages share the same attitudes. While women readily admit the superiority of men and tend

2:Lewis E-5 (1943-1948)1951 NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

183 562 593 to admire a man who is manly, they describe the "good" husband as one who is relatively passive and not too domineering. But they are as critical as men are of wives who answer back or resist their husbands, even though they do it themselves. Also, while women unanimously prefer a submissive daughter-in-law for themselves, they do not always advise their own daughters to yield to mothers-in-law. There is also a definite tendency to regard the completely submissive wife more as a fool than as an ideal. The fact that there is no feeling of inadequacy among women for not achieving the ideal of feminine behavior, and the fact that they feel pride rather than guilt in self-assertion, indicates that they no longer hold the cultural ideal as their own.

Women are, then, more in conflict with traditional ways than are men. Husbands generally find themselves in a defensive position in which they must conserve the old order of things in the home, to maintain their control over the family. Men show symptoms of anxiety and feelings of inadequacy because of their inability to fulfill their roles to their own satisfaction. Wives tend to reject certain aspects of their role, particularly those which interfere with their freedom of movement and economic activities. The strong preference women display toward work which takes them outside the home, and their feeling of deprivation when they cannot [842] leave the home, are evidence of this. Perhaps related to this is the fact that pregnancy and bearing of children are viewed without enthusiasm by women. These attitudes of women are in sharp contrast to those of men. The reaction of women to the pressure to conform, is one of a sense of frustration and deprivation. [157] The martyr-complex is widespread among married women, and in telling their life stories, women are often so overwhelmed by self-pity that they break down and cry. They dwell on the sadness of their lives and the faults of their husbands. It is, [578] they say, a woman's unhappy lot to suffer at the hands of men. The hostility toward men is quite general, and women readily characterize all men as "very bad."

183 594 [178] The question of authority in husband-wife relations is very much in the minds of men and women in Tepoztlán. There is an awareness, on the part of both, of the growing assertiveness of wives and the continual struggle of husbands to keep them under control. The changes within the village in the past twenty years or so have made this struggle more acute and have brought it into the open. There is a saying among men, "When the man relaxes, the woman takes over." Similarly, women say, "When we give in, the men impose." Even the most conventional women believe that there is a time to yield and a time to resist.

Basic to the conflict in the relations of husbands and wives is the discrepancy between the actual roles and the ideal roles in the organization of the family. Although the wife is subordinate to the husband, it is she who has the greatest responsibility for the planning, organizing, and operation of the household, and for the training and care of the children. The husband traditionally turns over all his earnings to his wife, and she holds the funds and controls much of the spending. In most homes, the husband will not interfere with the wife's handling of the money, so long as she gives him money when he wants it. The good wife is not

2:Lewis E-5 (1943-1948) 1951 NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

supposed to refuse her husband's request for money and may receive a beating or scolding if she does. A wife will refuse her husband money when she suspects that it is for drink or for another woman.

Wives are in a position to do a great deal of secret spending, borrowing, and paying back, which gives them a considerable source of added independence. Wives are also free to sell small quantities of the family corn or their own chickens or eggs, and to use the cash whenever they see fit. Although wives are supposed to get the permission of their husbands before going to see a doctor or *curandero*, visiting, or buying and selling in quantity, the frequent absence of the husband from the house permits the wife to do many of these things without his knowledge.

A few men, in an effort to control family affairs, keep their earnings and dole out small daily sums to their wives. Such men are considered very undesirable as husbands. They are called *cuilchilete*, or men with very long penes, and are said to be miserly. Even in those cases where the husband holds the funds, the wife always has an immediate source of cash from selling corn. Some husbands attempt to secure independence by withholding part of their earnings. This leads to quarrels, however, because wives generally know the exact amount of a husband's earnings, and they feel justified in demanding all the money. The fact that the husband often spends the money on drink puts him at a further disadvantage; the wife may then accuse him of wasting it, of not caring whether his family eats, etc. Wives in such situations may complain to the mother-in-law, or in extreme cases to the priest or *padrino* of marriage, who will invariably advise the husband to relinquish all his earnings.

In contrast to the wife's central role within the home, the husband's actual participation in family and household affairs is minimal. His work, with the exception of hauling water and making occasional repairs in and around the house, is outside the home. The division of labor is clear-cut, and the husband, except in emergencies, never does anything in connection with the house or children. For the majority of men, the home is a place where they have their physical needs attended to. Men are away from home a good part of the day, and sometimes for several days at a time, depending upon their work and the season of the year.

The history of Tepoztlán has been such that men frequently were forced to leave the village for long periods, and it is interesting to speculate on the effect of this on family life. We know that many Tepoztecans had to work in the mines of distant Taxco and on faraway haciendas during the early sixteenth century. This pattern continued in modified form throughout the colonial period and until the Revolution. Before the Revolution, large numbers of men worked on the neighboring haciendas and returned to the village only once every two weeks. Even today, about 150 men work on the haciendas during four to six months of the dry season, returning home once a week. With the husband away, the wife was not only head of the family but also often had to find means of supporting herself and the children until his return.

Perhaps more important than a husband's absence from the home is his behavior

2:Lewis E-5 (1943-1948) 1951 NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

mothers when they first menstruate, nor do they seek information concerning pregnancy, birth, or marriage. If a girl becomes pregnant before marriage, she will consult a friend or *curandero* as to what to do. Even after marriage, the girl informs her mother-in-law rather than her mother of her pregnancy, and the mother takes an active role as adviser or assistant only if there is no mother-in-law to do so.

Mother-daughter relations are almost severed when the girl marries, particularly if the girl lives with her mother-in-law for several years. It is common for mothers to weep at a daughter's marriage because they are "losing her," and they miss her for a long time.

When a married daughter leaves her mother-in-law's home to live alone, close relations with her mother are generally resumed. Women do not expect financial assistance in their old age from their married daughters because it is "up to the son-in-law." But many married daughters help their mothers with money and corn without the knowledge of their husbands.

SIBLINGS

If the mother-child relationship is the strongest bond in Tepoztlán, that between siblings ranks next. Sibling solidarity is an ideal which parents try to instill in their children. "Take care of him, he is your brother" is often repeated. Nevertheless, sibling relations are often poor, especially in adulthood, and Tepoztecans themselves recognize the sharp gap between theory and practice. The ties between siblings are closest in childhood. Up to about age five or six, siblings are constant companions, and their relationship is but little affected by the differences in sex. Later, sex status becomes much more important, as the sister begins to identify with the mother and her work, and the brother with the father.

An older sister has a special role in caring for her younger siblings and often shows affection and devotion in bringing up the children. But some of the older daughters are rejecting this role in favor of continuing their education. Older brothers have a preferred status in the family and can demand respect and obedience from younger brothers and sisters. In the absence of the parents they take on the role of the father and may discipline their younger siblings. Even after marriage, younger siblings are expected to consult with the older brother about important decisions. But this pattern is rapidly disappearing.

The authority of older siblings over younger is tempered somewhat by the parents' insistence that the older sibling protect and even defer to the younger child. If a young child wants something belonging to an older brother or sister, the parents see to it that he receives it. If an older child is sitting in a chair wanted by a three-year-old, the older child is told to get up and give it to him. In one family a ten-year-old boy, who complained to his parents that his six-year-old brother woke up at night to steal his marbles, was told not to be selfish and to let the younger one have them. When two children quarrel, the older one is automatically blamed because "he is older and should know better," or both children are punished without the parents inquiring into the situation. It is significant that older children never

2;Lewis E-5 (1943-1948) 1951 NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

The great amount of attention given the infant is primarily for the purpose of limiting and protecting him rather than stimulating him. He is not allowed to explore the world about him, to crawl, to touch many objects, and, when older, to ask too many questions. In general, much concern is felt for the safety of the infant, and the belief that infants are delicate is amply reinforced by the high mortality rate. Most infants wear several amulets to ward off illness, the sleeping child's face is covered to protect him from *los aires*, visitors are not encouraged to look at or hold the infant, and children are not taken out into the street more than is necessary.

The same basic principles apply in the training of children from about two to five, with emphasis upon obedience and respect for elders. After a rather abrupt weaning, the child becomes dependent upon older brothers and sisters, or a mother substitute. The illnesses which generally accompany weaning are interpreted to mean that the child is jealous of the new baby, reflecting the sibling rivalry found in many families. Children of this age are usually required to play within the patio; it is not uncommon to see children of three or four being carried, and many are not yet toilet trained. Children are controlled by means of scolding, frightening, shaming, and physical punishment. On the other hand, the young child, especially a boy or a favorite, is indulged in some ways, permitting a greater amount of ego development. Temper tantrums, whims, and complaints against older siblings are often rewarded by adults. After age five, responsibility and work are gradually increased, generally in proportion to the age and physical strength of the child. From this time on, through youth and even marriage, as long as the child lives under the parental roof, he is dependent upon the parents and subject to their authority.

By and large, this type of child training adequately prepares children for adult life in this community. But there are some points of conflict and inconsistencies between theory and practice in the culture. Perhaps the primary area of conflict is in the roles of men and women and in the relations between the sexes. On the whole, men are under much greater pressure than women; they experience more discontinuity in the transition from childhood to adulthood and more contradiction between their ideal and actual social roles. Although boys are more favored than girls and have, in general, more opportunities for ego development, their early training is not conducive to the development of inner strength and ability to dominate, which are required by the ideals of a patriarchal society. We have seen that frequently husbands are only nominally the head of the household, and that they rely upon fear to maintain authority. As men grow older, and as their sexual powers and ability to work decline, their position of dominance is more difficult to maintain. Furthermore, their older wives and grown-up children are more independent and not so easily controlled, and older men receive little social recognition and have little power in the community. It is interesting to note that in regard to favored position, the life cycle of men and women takes an opposite course: Men in early life are in a comparatively favored position, but as they grow older they are weighed down by life situations; women begin with less freedom, lower aspiration levels, and earlier

2:Lewis E-5 (1943-1948)1951 NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

155 183 562 responsibilities, but as they mature after marriage they slowly gain more freedom and often take a dominating position in the household.

183 562 831 155 One of the discontinuities in the life of men is found in connection with sex. Although sexuality is inhibited all through childhood, young men are subjected to pressure from members of their age group to be sexually active. To have many sweethearts and sexual affairs before and after marriage is expected and admired. In practice, however, relatively few men in Tepoztlán achieve the reputation of being *muy macho*. On the contrary, boys are often timid in courtship and in many cases are initiated in their first sex experience by older girls or women. In the case of women, there is much less inconsistency between childhood training and acceptable adult behavior. Girls are expected to be ignorant of sex before marriage and to behave with fidelity and restraint after marriage. Girls and women who have illicit sexual relations are considered "bad" or "crazy." Women tend to express rebellion and dissatisfaction with their situation by taking a lover. In effect, then, while the sex activity of men is an expression of manliness, in women it is a form of delinquency.

183 562 571 155 Still another discrepancy between theory and practice in Tepoztecan society is that, despite the greater freedom of men and their higher social status, it is the women who have greater opportunities for social life and appear to be better socialized. Women visit with neighbors and relatives more than men. Their daily trips to the plaza offer an occasion for gossip and news. They attend church more often. This greater socialization begins early in life. While the girls take care of their brothers and sisters, the young boys are out in the fields caring for the animals. Men spend most of their days alone at their work in the fields. Occasions for communal work are few and are almost always accompanied by drinking. Men do not seem to be at ease in groups, unless they are fortified by alcohol.

121 *OBSERVATIONS ON THE CULTURE-PERSONALITY PROBLEM*

We come now to the broad problem of the relationship between culture and personality. What light does the Tepoztecan material throw on this problem? In attempting to think this through I have arrived at a tentative reformulation of the problem in terms of some conceptual distinctions which are presented in the following pages.

Whether or not the study of culture throws light upon personality depends in large measure on how we define the terms culture and personality. If the approach to culture is that of the older anthropology which emphasized descriptions of external forms and customs, then one might expect little relationship between culture and personality. People having different forms of dress, speaking different languages, and having different religions may still have many similarities in personality. But if the core of the culture concept is seen as the attitudes and value systems and their manifestation in inter-personal relations, then there is a very close relationship between culture and personality.

A definition of personality presents greater difficulties. Despite the extensive

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NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

the reception of Holy Communion. As a part of the social celebration, special foods are also prepared, and there is general feasting. A humble resident of San Pedro invited us to visit again at fiesta time, explaining that "the fiesta is good, as there is much beer and punch". This social feasting was observed particularly in the barrio of Santa Cruz both preceding and following the Solemn High Mass at noon, which marked the climax of the fiesta. Padre Rojas was the celebrant, assisted by two priests visiting from Cuernavaca, one of whom delivered an eloquent sermon on the meaning of the occasion. The large congregation present responded with deep feeling which was expressed in various ways. The loud ringing of bells both inside and outside the chapel, together with the setting off of fireworks at the Consecration, were among the unusual features of this expression. This is a folk practice which obtains in all of the barrio fiesta celebrations.

There appears to be some confusion among scholars about folk practices among Catholics which relate to medical superstitions. In Tepoztlán we found that there are still several curanderos, or folk doctors, who practice rather extensively, although there is a young physician resident in the village who is a graduate of the University of Mexico's School of Medicine; and a free Public Health Clinic is in daily operation. It is difficult to separate some of the practices of the curanderos from magical or religious meanings. Frazer has suggested that much of the Aztec sacrifice and ceremonial is magical, but not religious.

One of the chief curanderos of Tepoztlán has seven wives, and is quite wealthy. He is a colorful character, having a certain degree of importance and prestige. Many people whose Catholicism ranges from formal to folk, patronize him in preference to going to the local physician. Yet his marital status is not approved by the formal Church, and his Catholic "patients" do not think of him in terms of his private interpretation of marital life, but rather as one who possesses special knowledge which will help them to overcome infirmities. Julian Pitt-Rivers has described a similar situation in an Andalusian village of